

2606

THE
DANGERS

WHICH THREATEN
EUROPE;

The chief causes of the ill-success of the last Campaign;

WHAT

Errors to be avoided, and what measures to be adopted,
in order to render the present one decisive in favour
of the real Friends of Good Order and Peace.

From the French of M. MALLET DU PAN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE ÆRAS OF EVENTS

SUBSEQUENT TO THE

REVOLUTION OF FRANCE;

And a Proclamation issued by the Generals of the Army
of the Royalists in La Vendée, Brittany, &c. &c.

NEW-YORK:

Printed for, and sold by, JAMES RIVINGTON, No. 156 Pearl-Street.

—1795.—



THE
D A N G E R S
WHICH THREATEN
EUROPE, &c.

J'appelle un chat un chat, & Rolet un fripon. BOILEAU.

ALL Europe is at present in an unprecedented situation; she has to contend with enemies truly formidable by their number, their courage and their resources of every kind, but far more dangerous from the plots which they hatch in secret; by their criminal indifference as to the means of success; by their anarchic and dismembering principles, so well calculated to lead the multitude astray; by the extensive correspondence they have formed in every country, with all ranks, even with the person of ministers—Respect withholds my pen, and prevents me from depicting to the astonishment of future generations far more illustrious personages.

It is *a deadly war*, as the regicides themselves have had so great reason to term it; the monster of anarchy must perish, or Europe must expect soon to see the downfall of all thrones; the dissolution of every tie of subordination and friendly intercourse; the annihilation and contempt of all religion; the sub-
version,

version of all rectitude; the violent usurpation of all property; and the massacre of half its inhabitants: such is the only regeneration that we can and ought reasonably to expect from those who have imbrued their sacrilegious hands in the blood of the most just of kings, and from the union of all upon earth that is most completely vitiated; for, as soon as guilt became prevalent in France, as soon as the shattered basis of the vast machine threatened approaching destruction, the refuse and scandal of mankind were seen to croud from all parts towards the center of corruption, in like manner as famished hyenas, attracted by the effluvia of carcases, are seen to gather together, in order to share the remains of them.

This war is by no means to be compared to ordinary wars, already so hateful, but at least always circumscribed by some laws which diminish the horrors of them, interrupted by some cessations of hostilities which give respite to mankind, and followed by a peace which permits the hope of a reparation of losses. Here, no quarter, no intermission; it is a devastating monster, which has already ravaged the soil which gave it birth, and against which the neighbouring countries have been compelled to take up arms, under pain of experiencing the same fate; it is social order, struggling against barbarity; it is in some measure nature concentrating her efforts, not to relapse into annihilation and chaos. Who would believe that Europe had seen originate and increase in size, without horror, that torrent, the origin and progress of which so plainly indicated devastation, without

without being aware that it was particularly destructive to its safety, or without at least endeavouring to check it? Had not those who directed the course of it been kept within bounds, by apprehensions and timid considerations, which they have since so effectually surmounted; had they, at the first attacks of *Mons* and of *Tournai*, combined that unanimity in measures with that boldness in execution which at present renders the safety of nations doubtful, the evils which I am now portraying, only that measures may be taken to avert them, had already inundated the surface of Europe, the whole universe were a vast field of blood and slaughter; and this is no idle speculation, no illusive apprehension. *Such was their strength*, and ere it were possible to muster a sufficiency to stop it, half of Germany and Holland had been reduced; they would have accumulated their immense treasures; they would every where have slaughtered loyal subjects, and armed their thousands of partisans, and that croud of weak minded people whose decisions are influenced by chance alone; both of those, after having rendered themselves so obnoxious to legal authority, would soon have evinced the same energy to annihilate even the last vestiges of it; the train of combustible matter pervaded the whole, and in this first moment of irresolution, of dismay, of improvidence and of stupor, the conflagration had been general.

Divine providence has otherwise ordained it, for in vain do we search elsewhere for the causes of events which have so strangely defeated the calculations of
human

human prudence. Let those who are untaught by experience, and have learned nothing in the school of adversity, no longer bring in opposition these great words devoid of meaning, the *incorruptible fidelity of the troops—natural goodness of the people—attachment to sovereigns*.

Guilt, when fortunate, ever finds abettors and profelytes. Before that fatal æra, were there in existence any troops more loyal, and in whose breasts honour was a more powerful incentive? Well then, they assembled almost without an effort under the standards of rebellion. Was there ever known a people more benign, more affectionate, more hospitable; that possessed in a more eminent degree all the social virtues? Well then, it is at present a nation of cannibals, of blood-thirsty anthropophagi, eager for slaughter; and the deluges of blood which they are incessantly shedding seem but to stimulate their insatiable thirst. In short, have the annals of history preserved the remembrance of a nation more remarkable for a species of idolatry for its kings, that has given more affecting and more frequent proofs of it? And the most just of sovereigns, the best and most loyal of men, he who united the piety of *Saint Louis* to the paternal tenderness of *Henry the Fourth*—the good *Louis the Sixteenth*, in short, perished on a scaffold: his last words to his people were expressions of good will and of love; and at the very moment when the fatal axe terminates the course of so worthy a life, the air resounds with acclamations of joy; all France is in arms to uphold his executioners; they
come

come at the expiration of a year to the place of execution to insult the memory of their august victim, and the anniversary of this execrable murder is celebrated throughout the whole kingdom by rejoicings and patriotic hymns.

So many and so dreadful examples have notwithstanding been only productive of transient impressions, even on thrones. It might be said, that the spirit of blindness encourages the victims, whilst phrenzy actuates the executioners; in one moment a preternatural and irresistible power seems arming the latter with the sword, and impelling the former with rapid strides to their inevitable destruction. Reliance is placed on treaties, on a perfect neutrality, as though it were possible for durable treaties to exist with the tiger; as though, to have nothing to fear from the effects of his fury, it were sufficient not to exasperate him: dependance is placed on distance, as though the thunderbolt needed much time to spread devastation afar; as though all those forming the same electric chain did not in some measure experience, at the same moment, the same concussion. It seems as if they trifled with a revolution which threatens a general overthrow, a total usurpation, which does not conceal its plan, and which daily acquires fresh means of putting it in execution. None but sordid views are entertained, none but the shallow and unsupported calculations of egotism are made, when the devouring flames arise from every part of the great social edifice, and when the concurrence of all minds is not more than adequate to the

the task of impeding their threatening progress. When it would be of so great advantage to be just within, and externally terrible, partial measures are made use of against the common enemy, and the remaining efforts tend to create new ones.

In so uncommon a situation of affairs, it is permitted, it is enjoined every friend to good order, to make himself heard: when a terrible conflagration is discovered, it behoves every one to check its ravages: let us seize the favourable opportunity while it is yet time. Let us therefore no longer be ignorant of the strength of the regicides; a great proportion of our calamities originates in having mistaken or in having despised it too much: let us reserve all our contempt for their principles. I am going on the most simple and most incontestible foundation; a vast kingdom, on which nature seems to have lavished all her favours, abounding in strong places, where art has exhausted all its resources; an immense and naturally warlike people, whose indefatigable activity will ever counterpoise the greater part of the advantages of its enemies, distinguished from other nations by an impetuosity seldom resisted; numerous and well furnished arsenals; incredible resources of ingenuity and good conduct, which ever place it in a situation to repair the greater part of its losses with dispatch; a corps of experienced engineers, the most considerable, and undeniably the best ordnance in Europe—Such is the real situation of the strength and resources of France, in ordinary circumstances.

Let

Let us now add to so many combined advantages those which are actually furnished by her present dilemma: the annihilation of commerce and navigation, of all the arts of luxury, of a crowd of professions and trades, at first exasperated those who acquired from them the means of subsistence: in these first moments of dismemberment and tyranny, foreign powers might have depended on the great number of this gang of malcontents; but since that time, terrified by instances of rigor, convinced of the danger and inutility of their efforts, inveigled by every kind of illusion, and impelled by the want of subsistence, they put themselves in the service of their executioners, they became the instruments of their vengeance; almost all of them entered either into those bands of people kept in pay at *Paris* and in the provinces, for the purpose of renewing dismay and rapine in every shape, or into those hordes of the frontiers, resembling those of the ancient *Normans*, who went to spread devastation and seek death afar, because their native soil could not yield them a subsistence. At first they only followed the imperious voice of hunger, but presently connected with whatever is most depraved, they themselves became the models of corruption, and thenceforward any return to a tranquil and industrious way of living is no longer in their power; for it is worthy of observation, that the life of camps and armies, however toilsome it may be, whatever activity it may require, does but form useless men, or hereafter dangerous to society. Thus, by degrees, idleness and hunger

B

have

have filled France with villains; that vast kingdom is transformed into a camp, thick set with bayonets; the foundries and armouries have acquired an extraordinary activity; innumerable armies have lined the frontiers, and new ones were raised, as it were by enchantment, wherever an unforeseen event has on a sudden required their presence. We have had but too many occasions to be convinced of it in the different periods of the war of *la Vendée*, at *Lyons*, *Marseilles*, *Bordeaux*, *Toulon*, &c.

That seminary of men, a new generation of whom, reared in the midst of alarms, is incessantly coming to repair losses, has now no other existence but the war. Taught even by their misfortunes, ever distinguished by treason, and rewarded with the heads of generals; encouraged by more or less brilliant successes against their enemies; actuated by the desire of plunder, and persuasions most treacherously vile; intoxicated by a fanaticism which inspired the most tranquil nations with all its phrenzy—which gave birth to reiterated instances of heroism among nations the least inclined to war; conducted by leaders who have only the alternative of the scaffold or success, and who cannot obtain that horrid success but by the total subversion of empires; too deeply immersed in guilt; too much addicted to licentiousness and debauchery, not to foresee, with dismay, the re-establishment of good order; ever lulled by the seducing hope of being on the eve of beginning a new career, in the midst of opulence and peace, enriched with the spoils of their victims—every thing concurs
in

in evincing that the rebels of France will ever combine with the eager valor of the ancient French, a ferocity unknown before, and that formidable perseverance which appeared incompatible with the impetuosity and fickleness of their disposition.

Could we yet lay aside our apprehensions, in 1794, with that herd of idle speculators and ignorant politicians, who are incessantly repeating, as during the first six months of the revolution, that nothing violent can be of long duration, and that consequently, the extraordinary efforts of France evidently portend their approaching period? But it is too manifest that this general maxim can have no reference to the present situation of affairs. Why flatter ourselves with seeing effects terminate, when causes are daily acquiring a fresh degree of energy? Does fire, which is the emblem of activity, become extinguished by a continual supply of fuel? Does not Vesuvius, which about 1800 years ago buried *Herculanum* and *Pompeia* in deluges of lava, now daily spread devastation? And why then should that vehement activity, from which proceeds the present situation of affairs, and which every thing concurs in supporting, promise you so speedy an end to your calamities? It is most undoubtedly to be compared to a violent fever, which will be followed by a deadly weakness. But from what principles do you calculate the duration of the paroxysm? The vast edifice of the French revolution will, no doubt, end in ruin, because it is built on a quick sand, and all its parts want cement and connection; but it is probable
that

that a great part of the present generation will be extinct, and that all Europe will be clad in a general mourning, ere the period arrives, the date of which they are incessantly ascertaining with so ridiculous a prophetic faith.

Let us proceed to the state of their finances, to that primum mobile of governments which always ends by determining the victory; and let all illusion vanish if we find them possessed of resources adequate to an indefinite support of this Colossus of power.

The villains who are at the head of the present government of France have usurped possession of two thirds of the territory of that mighty kingdom, and of a vast quantity of precious effects of an incredible value; by adding to the crown domains the property of the clergy and nobility; they have for a long time been daily swelling that torrent of depredation, by the spoils of the crowd of victims they are sacrificing; and should they still continue with the same voracity the war they have declared against all men of property, they will soon be masters of every thing: all France will be the inheritance of triumphant guilt; in its bloody hands will center all riches, all means of subsistence.

An enormous bulk of assignats, the emission of which is unbounded, and of which fear enforces the circulation through the whole extent of the kingdom, without remonstrance, and without opposition, provides for the payment of all internal demands; the true explanation of which is, that the pay of the troops, their victualling, their equipment, their marches,

marches, &c. in short, every thing which exhausts the resources of foreign powers, cost the Convention nothing, since it has converted paper-mills into mints, and has so far subjected France, as to hazard every thing without caution and without fear. In this manner is now spent in six weeks more than that former government, so much condemned, ever did in a whole year, at the time of its greatest laceration; and, nevertheless, it would be very improper to see in this terrible profusion the most trifling cause of being exhausted; as, to be exhausted, it is necessary there be a disproportion between efforts and resources; and in this instance resources are renewed, as it were by enchantment, in proportion to necessities.

I grant there are some expences which absolutely require specie; but is there as much in the possession of all the sovereigns put together, as the Convention have been able to procure by the spoliation of all the churches, of the treasures of the crown, and of coin found in the hands of that multitude of persons whose riches alone have occasioned their being arrested or sacrificed as suspected persons; by the plunder of the opulent cities of *Lyons* and of *Marseilles*, and the sequestration of every article of gold and silver, wheresoever it could be found? It is by means of that coin profusely dealt out, that it employs emissaries in all countries, that it receives from neutral powers, and even from its enemies, grain and other articles of consumption which it could not do without; for I am far from coinciding with those

those persons who imagine that the greater part of those cargoes which are incessantly landed in the ports of France, are as many gratuitous succours sent by their worthy brethren, the foreign patriots. I have had it sufficiently in my power to study that description of men, to be able to aver, that interest is their ruling passion, even in preference to that of doing evil: the French have nothing to expect from them but sanguinary wishes and negative exploits, looking forward to that æra of guilt, when they will be in a situation to glut their vengeance with certitude and impunity. How distressing it is to be convinced, more and more every day, that to be deeply immersed in guilt, the greater part of mankind only require to be resigned to their natural depravity! But let us resume the statement of the resources of the present government of France.

Are the armies in want of any thing? Does a supply of some necessaries, such as shoes or shirts, meet with any retardment? These articles are put in requisition through the whole country; immediately every one hastens to strip; and the best disposed man, and for that reason more open to the shafts of malevolence, will make himself conspicuous by the magnitude of his *psuedo patriotic* gifts, too fortunate in saving his head at the price of like sacrifices. What may be said of the most trifling things, such as lint or old linen for dressing wounds, has reference to every article in general, without exception; nothing more is requisite to procure men and horses, to make artillery and armies go post; the

the signature of the first scoundrel whom the Convention has invested with its full powers, effects, as it were by a talismanic charm, in twice twenty-four hours, what sovereigns cannot bring about under several months, and by lavishing their treasures.

We could make many other observations, which would all tend to demonstrate that the French unite innumerable advantages against their enemies, particularly in the present horrid dilemma which agitates them; for what sovereign, what despot soever, could once dare to do what the pretended regenerators of France have incessantly been doing these four years past? A trifling excise, haughtily imposed by necessity, for the support of the property and the existence of those on whom it is levied, is the subject of a thousand complaints, of innumerable remonstrances; whilst every thing is arbitrarily disposed of in France, and the least murmur would be the death warrant of the wretch whom they plunder, in order to have it more in their power to oppress him.

It were easy to evince the great importance of a consideration which nothing can controvert. The regicides are fighting on their own dunghills, surrounded with fortresses, which facilitate their attacks, secure their retreat, and give rest to their armies; they have the assurance of being able to repair their losses without difficulty. The allies, on the contrary, are in an enemy's country, beset with mal-contents and spies; their territory, exposed on every side, is only secured by those places they can reduce; their losses cannot be repaired under a long time, with
extraordinary .

extraordinary difficulties and expence; in short, they require a long train of brilliant and uninterrupted successes in order to attain their ends; and should it happen that victory was for only one day in favour of fanatic impetuosity, backed by a great superiority of numbers—all would irretrievably be lost.

What must we then deduce from so many sad and incontestible truths? The very reverse of what that crowd of evil minded persons, by whom you are beset, are advising you, because it is in general found policy to pursue an opposite line of conduct to that pointed out by the enemy; they require a peace which cannot be granted—wage war to the last; for it is impossible to treat but with a generous foe. What would be said of peaceable navigators, who, after innumerable provocations, injuries and threats, should at length agree to unite their strength against a pirate from whom they have nothing to expect but slavery or death; if presently after they were seen resigning themselves submissive victims, and wishing to treat with that same pirate, because they found more resistance than they at first expected; and that, without reflecting that the little unison and harmony in their efforts was the first obstacle to their success, at the very moment when a little more perseverance, and the concurrence of all the methods in their power, would have rid the seas of that devastating scourge, and become the guarantee of their future safety.

Let us suppose a vessel having on board a great number of passengers of all ranks, of all nations;
private

private piques, difference of language, all concur in making them total strangers to each other, perhaps enemies. A leak is sprung, and for a long while no one is alarmed at its progress; they, however, begin to foresee the danger, and some of them go briskly to work; whilst the rest, to cloak their ill will, alledge for an excuse their weakness, or their personal security in the midst of the general dismay. The danger at length becomes imminent; the moment of illusion is past; the picture of death is present to their imaginations; in the twinkling of an eye it has suspended all hatred—has almost done away even the difference of language; they all understand each other; they all muster strength to attain the same end; the propinquity of the shore inspires fresh ardor, and the vessel ere long arrives safe in port. The application is by no means equivocal; the allegory is simple enough; but it is one, however easy to be understood; and henceforward truth must appear naked. Europe is that vessel threatened with approaching submersion; all sovereigns have to reproach themselves with that drowsy and fatal apathy for a long time; and even now, whilst some are exhausting themselves in efforts for the safety of the whole, the public finger points out others who refuse to second them, and who, perhaps, thwart their designs. God grant, however, that the aptness of the comparison may not end there, and that the urgency of the danger may at length open their eyes while it is yet time! I am not doubtful of the success of their combined efforts; Paris is

the object at which they ought to aim; but let them not forget that the campaign of 1794 will be the irrevocable decision of their destinies.

It is, without doubt, that unanimity, that precious harmony, which ought to be the object of your most ardent wishes; but if we ever have the good fortune to see the concurrence of all minds and all efforts towards the same object, it will still be useful to turn to advantage the salutary lessons of experience, and to make use of new tactics against an enemy who has thrown every thing into confusion. It is too evident that there has been more than one cause of regret as to the employment of the forces during the campaign of 1793. I wish to forget the preceding one; I respect the impenetrable veil which conceals its operations, and I turn my eyes from the unprecedented calamities which were the consequence of it, in order to consider, with satisfaction, the epocha so glorious for the Austrian arms.

Breda was taken; the important fortress of Maëstricht, bombarded with vigor, was threatened with approaching ruin; Holland was on the eve of being usurped, and of insuring forever the triumph of guilt. Something miraculous was requisite to avert the tempest; the Prince de *Cobourg*, although still in expectation of several considerable reinforcements, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season and the great inferiority of his forces, attempted it without hesitation; there was not a moment to lose. This heroic resolution was crowned with a success unprecedented in the annals of history: on all sides
the

the regicides, dismayed, dispersed, cut to pieces, leaving magazines and artillery, fled in disorder before a little army, and in that same country which the combination of all their forces could only take by inches, from a body of fifteen thousand men, worn out by fatigue. They seemed to rally at *Nerwinde*, at the call of the intrepid *Dumourier*, but to add new lustre to the triumph of their conquerors, numbers, impetuosity, the delirium of despair, all yielded to the unparalleled intrepidity of the brave Austrians, and to the conduct of their worthy leaders: never had Fame to celebrate so rapid, so brilliant exploits; every day, each hour was the signal of some new success: that triumphant march can be compared to nothing but the impetuous waves of the ocean, which overwhelm every thing in their way, and reject, far on the shore, all the impurities which defile its bosom.

Of what good fortune do not these first successes appear the welcome harbingers? The disgrace of *Dumourier*, that man, far less dangerous from his extraordinary talents than from his profound villainy, took place almost at the same time; the vigorous blow with which he struck *Bourbonville*, and the four deputies who came to communicate to him the supreme orders of the Conventional tenniscourt; his great influence over the troops, whom he had almost persuaded into the resolution of marching towards *Paris*, all seemed to proclaim that the last hour of guilt was at length arrived. A croud of childish inattentions, which the thirst of
revenge

revenge and the delirium of pride can hardly account for, rendered entirely abortive the great plan which in one day only would have broken the sceptre of the Convention; but at least it must of course have produced a total dismemberment, a consternation from which the greatest advantages might have been promised. The enlightened and impartial observer beheld with grief and astonishment the inaction of the allies, whilst *Dampierre* was rapidly gathering around him the remains of the army, and putting himself in a situation very soon to molest the conquerors.

Full of respect for the designs and talents of the Austrian Generals, I suppose that their conduct was influenced by weighty reasons; I imagine they wished to wait for reinforcements of men and of artillery, in order to be certain of striking heavier blows; but, in fighting Frenchmen especially, could this supply of forces be put in competition with the advantage of profiting by the general terror inspired by the Austrian name? Since that time all their efforts have been crowned with victory. But it seems as though they never thought of taking advantage of these successes; each vigorous stroke was the signal of a long inactivity, which has occasioned the loss of almost all the advantages of it. Minds, struck with dismay, have always had time to grow composed; and yet it is that salutary terror which ought ever to have been *the order of the day*, to make use of an expression those miscreants apply to their victims, it is that which caused, and has supported the revolution; and should it not powerfully assist in
destroying

destroying its own monstrous work, it is too much to be feared that the efforts of powers will but aggravate the calamities of mankind to a far greater degree.

The effect of that terror has been evinced, when, after the famous siege of *Valenciennes*, so long delayed, so feebly carried on for some moments, and followed, like the rest of the operations, by a deadly indolence, they presented themselves before the camp of *Cesar*. With what pleasure one can refer to that brilliant event, when nothing could hearten the Conventional army; neither that situation which nature seemed to have wished to render impregnable, nor those immense works on which art had recently exhausted all its resources, nor that dreadful artillery with which the numerous redoubts were bristled! Dismay preceded the arms of the allies, till then ever victorious; their intrepidity, guided by skilful tactics, had not yet known obstacles. The same consideration agitates the minds of the regicides; to try a new contest is, in the eyes of all, exposing themselves to a new defeat; and they were seen to desert, without striking a single blow, at the mere approach of the enemy, that same camp which twenty thousand arms had just put in a situation, said they, to make a victorious resistance against all its efforts; which was very lately represented to the Convention as the bulwark of France, and which it had been generally customary to consider as the chief obstacle in getting to *Paris*. What a precious moment for striking certain and decisive blows, either by pursuing to
the

the last the fugitive army, or by hastening the reduction of places where this unexpected retreat had spread discouragement, and the inhabitants of which found themselves left to their own strength! What omen more auspicious for the remainder of the campaign! Major *d'Aspre* is ordered to summon *Cambrai*: he hears it reported on all sides that the inhabitants of that town are desirous to surrender; that there is hardly any garrison there, and that any resistance will soon be surmounted, because unwilling to expose itself to undergo the fate of *Valenciennes*; that the place is entirely bare of any means of defence, and that hardly any cannon are mounted on the ramparts, &c.*

However, the Commandant answers as is customary in like cases, unless one be previously apprised of his intentions; he declares that he will defend himself to the last extremity. A few red hot balls, and two hundred shells sent post, would have easily overcome those pretended plans of resistance, and secured the possession of that important place: at this present time it would be necessary to waste under its walls a deal of precious time and immense ammunition; to draw three parallels; to sacrifice a number of men in the trenches; to have a numerous army to cover the siege, and to gain signal victories in order to continue the operations: it is in war particularly that a lost opportunity is never retrieved.

The

* They must undoubtedly have had certain accounts of the place being entirely destitute, from the reports made to the Convention.

The negative answer of the Commandant, without any regard being paid to the situation of the town and the Conventional army, was the signal for a retrograde march; it was then that the fatality which seems to rule the destiny of France, and to impel it rapidly to its ruin, caused the resolution to be adopted of dividing the force of the allies, in order to carry on the sieges of *Dunkerque* and of *Quesnoi*, abreast; it is also from that period all their disappointments are to be dated.

The Duke of York took the road to *Dunkerque*, at the head of forty thousand effective men. The celerity of his march; his arrival under the walls of that town, without heavy artillery, a long while before the time agreed on with Admiral Macbride, who was to assist the siege from the sea; the heroic but indiscreet intrepidity with which the advanced guard was pursued to the very glacis of the place; the flight of the Irish General who commanded there to England; all tend to evince that there was a correspondence, and that it was so far depended on as to neglect the most ordinary precautions. Had only some heavy artillery been provided, and care been taken to let Admiral Macbride into the secret of that premature march, in order to be able to make use of force, should persuasion fail, a place of the strength of *Dunkerque* had probably been carried ere it were possible to give it any assistance. Perhaps, even the forces being present would have been sufficient to dispense with making use of them; for the great method of procuring
correspondence,

correspondence, and of deriving advantage from it, is to be always in a situation to be able to do without it.

As soon as it was discovered that no more dependence was to be placed on a correspondence, unfortunately too much considered as infallible, it was thought necessary to proceed to the usual vigorous measures, and the arrival of the heavy artillery was expected in a kind of forced inactivity. In the mean time some gun-boats and one or two armed hulks were incessantly spreading their ravages in the camp of the allies, and galling the Austrian cavalry with impunity. The garrison, on their side, every day considering more and more, in their proper light, the threatening expressions made use of in the summons, seeing that it was not even thought of to invest it, receiving every moment, by the way of *Gravelines*, reinforcements of every kind, and assurances of being soon delivered, made frequent sallies, and were more averse than ever to any kind of capitulation.

Those same Conventional hordes who had abandoned the most impregnable situations at the bare approach of the impetuous phalanx of the allies, make preparations, in their turn, to carry on an offensive war, when they found they were divided, and anticipated certain success from the combination of almost all their forces against an army of forty thousand men, obliged to subdivide itself into an army of observation, and a besieging one, and to oppose a garrison, the number of which might be increased, and its efforts directed at any time. The
camp

camp of *Cassel* was pitched upon as the place of rendezvous for the regicides; by degrees the troops arrived there in small detachments, without its ever being attempted to molest the march of a single battalion, or to annoy them on any quarter. At length, after having gathered their forces together very leisurely, as the place was not invested a single moment; after having well digested their plan, and secured all the means of putting it into execution, they spread like a torrent on the plain. Then the intrepid resistance of the allies tended but to prolong the carnage, to retard their defeat for some moments, and to expose to more imminent danger the person of the Commander in Chief, and of one of the sons of the King of England, both wounded and within an ace of being made prisoners. The extent of their loss in men, artillery, stores, &c. is well known; the dreadful rout of the Dutch at *Menin* and at *Verwick*, which was the immediate consequence of it, is well remembered: nevertheless, General *Houchard*, whom victory had just crowned in so conspicuous a manner, ere long resigned his head on the scaffold; and of the Generals sacrificed by the axe of the guillotine, he, perhaps is the only one whose death cannot be considered otherwise than murder, for it is certain that his punishment ought to have been more signal.

The valor of the Austrian army, and the dexterity of its leaders, soon impeded the progress of the regicides, and made them return to their own territory; but nothing could compensate the losses of the allies

D

of

of every description, the animosities which were the consequences of them, the retardment of the siege of *Maubeuge*, at a season so far advanced, and still less, the dread effect so many and so great successes had on opinion, in a war wholly depending on opinion. Hitherto the patriots had fought the allies, although fatal experience had in some measure taught them to consider them invincible: the victory of *Dunkerque* inspired the same idea, created in their breasts the same hopes, as with the savages of America, when, for the first time, they saw those Europeans fall beneath their blows, whom they had long considered as beings of a superior order. They thought that the whole consisted in a proper management of exertion; nothing more was wanting to justify in their eyes the treasons which had been the pretence for the disgrace or punishment of so many Generals. It might be expected to see them in a short time display some new boldness: an opportunity soon presented itself.

The Austrians, who were on the eve of surrounding *Maubeuge* when the defeat of their allies obliged them to turn speedily to *Menin*, finding how much the possession of that place insured the tranquility of a great extent of their frontiers, resolved to endeavour to carry it before the end of the campaign. All the redoubts which defended the access to it were attacked and taken at the same time; already, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, the town was invested, and the works of the siege were carried on with vigor, when the regicides, who had gathered

gathered together slowly, and without hindrance, all their forces on the side of *Landrecy* and *Avesnes*, came to attack the army of observation. Not being able to injure it in the first essay, the next day they came to a general engagement; it was then that, actuated by the phrenzy of fanaticism, and a profusion of intoxicating liquors, they were seen to throw themselves at the muzzles of cannon, which mowed down whole ranks, incessantly singing their revolutionary tunes, in the midst of rivers of blood, the cries of the wounded, and of the carcasses of their own men piled in heaps. Nothing certainly, could resist such obstinacy, for the brave Austrians were obliged to leave their positions. Their retreat was that of the lion overcome by numbers, and whom none dare go too near, notwithstanding his faintness and loss of blood; but it was, in short, necessary to raise the siege of *Maubeuge*, and to think only of defending their own territory. With what confidence in its own forces must not this great success against the best troops, and the best Generals of Europe, have inspired the Convention!

While matters were thus situated in that part of the frontiers, the famous lines of *Weissembourg*, which had seemed for a long time to be considered impregnable, were forced in less than an hour by the armies of General *Wurmser*, and of the Prince of *Condé* the Prussians, by their manœuvres, contributed to the success of that day. Much greater resistance might have been expected, but the victory of *Weissembourg* was a consequence of the check at *Maubeuge*,
for

for it appears that they had left the lines very bare, in order to be more certain of raising the siege of that place.

We must not omit an opportunity of making a consoling observation. Let us remark, that the continual, and so fatiguing transportation of troops, so destructive to men, and more especially to horses, (from *Alsace* to *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* to *Alsace*; from the army of the *North* to that of *la Vendée*, from the straits of *Savoy* to the walls of *Lyons*, from *Lyons* to *Toulon*, and from *Toulon* to *Perpignan*) and the long inaction of the armies, until the moment they received reinforcements from other parts, clearly demonstrate that the Convention begins to feel the weight of its monstrous excesses, and that, being obliged to divide its partisans in every corner of the kingdom, to counteract its numerous internal enemies, it cannot send against the external ones as many men as it seems to think, and has likewise persuaded others to think; it moreover evinces, that its great resistance chiefly proceeds from the manner in which it has been attacked, and from always being left at liberty to leave every part guarded, without inconvenience, in order to unite its immense forces in that which was threatened.

Let us return to the lines of *Weissembourg*. After that great success, doubtless the most important during the war, had they reaped all the fruits of it which might naturally have been expected, *Lauterbourg* and *Weissembourg* threw open their gates; the victorious army made a march of several leagues without

without meeting a single enemy; the town of *Haguenau*, although covered by a considerable forest, which might impede its reduction, surrendered without resistance; the inhabitants seemed most favourably disposed; the army of the regicides was in some measure dispersed, and struck with a panic. Even *Straßbourg*, if we may believe a public rumour, which was generally credited, and which no one undertook to refute, *Straßbourg* offered to open its gates to General *Wurmser*. But I will not build my observations on probabilities or mere conjectures; and I fondly believe, that had nothing less been at stake, than to strike a decisive blow, which would accelerate the end of the evils of mankind, there could not have been in existence reasons sufficient, I do not say to justify a refusal, but even for one moment to retard the conclusion of such a treaty.

What is at least incontestible, the allies had a numerous and powerful party within the walls of *Straßbourg*, and they did not think of taking advantage of the first moment of the consternation of the patriots, and of the defeat of their army, to endeavour to secure that important place; what is likewise certain, they remained for a long time in an indolence not to be accounted for even from the inclemency of the season, as the activity of the patriots was not abated for a moment: the only vigorous exertion that was made, was centered in the attack of *Fort-Louis*, which surrendered the very first week: in short, after having thrown some shells into *Landau*, for three or four days, that plan was entirely given
up

up to adopt the fatal and endless system of blockade, as though it were very extraordinary to experience from the strongest place in the kingdom, and the most perfect work of Mr. *de Vauban*, a degree of resistance of which the smallest village is capable.

In the meantime, the Convention, whose great art particularly consists in taking advantage of the numerous errors of its enemies, and in making good use of the long and fatal intervals which have ever separated their operations, hastened to send commissioners into Alsace. Terror, extortion and deluges of blood marked their footsteps. After having sacrificed as suspected persons, at the head of the army, all who did not possess the revolutionary phrenzy in the most exalted degree, in order to confirm the pretended treason, which, in the eyes of the multitude, had accounted for the taking of the lines, they came to regenerate the city of *Strasbourg* after their manner; that is to say, all the offices of the administration were intrusted to Sans Culottes, proved by their energy and perseverance in guilt: the blood of well-disposed persons ran in streams beneath the axe of the guillotine, and wealthy people of all descriptions thought themselves too fortunate in saving their heads at the price of exorbitant pecuniary contributions. On all sides the requisition for men was made with fresh diligence; considerable reinforcements were received from the army of *Jourdan*; convinced they might without danger be left destitute before an enemy who had gone into winter quarters; they gathered together all the garrisons of *Alsace* and of *Lorraine*.

Lorraine. . . . I wish to be excused from entering into any detail respecting the fate of the lines of *Motter* and of its redoubts, as well as of the blockade of *Landau*, the possession of which would long ago have been secured by a little vigor and perseverance, and which alone could insure the tranquility of the allied armies. The impression is too deep for generous souls; the wound is yet bleeding; it prolongs the empire of guilt, and its consequences will ever be irreparable to all the wretched inhabitants of *Alsace* recently conquered, of the dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, and of that part of Germany which was obliged to be given up to the unparalleled devastations of the regicides.

We must not be afraid of laying too much stress on those truths, on which depend the safety of empires; and for that purpose let us confront the different circumstances of success and of disappointment; let us make a succinct and brief recapitulation of the principal events of the last campaign. The Prince *de Cobourg*, at the head of a little army, overthrows the forces of the patriots, till then victorious, pursues them, still goading them with the bayonet; delivers Holland, and achieves the conquest of the low countries in less than four weeks; the camp of *Famars*, which, commanded by *Marchal de Villars*, kept the enemy in restraint during a whole campaign, was carried in a few hours, with a very trifling loss; the famous camp of *Cesar* was evacuated in consequence of only the preparations for attack made by the allies; the intrenched camp of *Gkivelde*, and
that

that before *Dunkerque*, made no long resistance; four thousand men, attacked in *Marciennes*, were all, without exception, cut in pieces, or made prisoners; in short, it required no longer than an hour to carry the formidable lines of *Weißembourg*.

Let us proceed to the misfortunes. The intrenchments of *Hondschoote* were taken, deluged with the blood of the allies; the Dutch army, which defended *Menin* and *Verwick* were routed; the Austrians themselves, covered by their numerous abattis, were forced to raise the siege of *Maubeuge*; the approaches to *Toulon*, on which the fate of the town depended, and which might have been fortified during four months, were forced in less than one hour: they were obliged to abandon, almost without fighting, the lines of *Motter*, where twenty-four redoubts, well provided with artillery, crossed their fires. The blockade of *Landau* was raised; and future generations will never give credit to the dread annals of the history of this iron age, which will inform them that the armies of the two mightiest potentates of Europe, commanded by General *Wurmser* and the Duke of *Brunswick*, were dislodged from situations which nature, art, and the season concurred in rendering impregnable, by a herd of banditti, under the orders of *Hoche* and of *Pichegreu*; that they were obliged to abandon not only all their conquests, but also their stores, and a very considerable part of their own territory, which they beheld ravaged with impunity in the most atrocious manner, after having put the Rhine between them and the victorious banditti.

Is it not a natural conclusion from this statement, that the small success of the campaign is to be attributed, less to the insufficiency of forces, than to the service to which they have been applied? Does it not clearly appear from it, that no attention has been paid to the nature of this war, or to the species of enemies to be encountered? In a war of *opinion*, and above all against Frenchmen, who to their bravery and natural impetuosity now join all the delirium of fanaticism, the least check is the forerunner of a greater one, which will shortly after be experienced; the least delay is a fault of which the enemy takes advantage to recover from their dismay, and to repair their strength in a moment; the system of a defensive war would occasion the inevitable loss of the most numerous and most valiant armies. It is necessary always to attack the regicides, to disperse the combination of their forces, to march up to them before they make a motion to give battle, to anticipate them in every thing, to harass them incessantly, to pursue them to the last when conqueror, to attack them again the next day, should the victory be in their favour. With such a line of conduct, ordinary troops may master them. With dilatoriness, fascia, abattis, and lines, these banditti, by their voracious activity and ferocious obstinacy, would in the end triumph over the soldiers of Alexander; or, to take nearer models of heroism, over the Austrians themselves, who would display all their valor and dexterity to the greatest disadvantage.

The reasons which may be alledged in support of

E

too

too fatal experience croud to my pen; I will select a very weighty one, which is peculiarly adapted to circumstances. No one is ignorant of the vivacity and warmth which distinguish the French; their ordinary habit would be a violent one for any other people. Let it be likewise observed, that every delusion is made use of to sublimate those inflammable dispositions, and there will be found the explanation of so many effects, apparently so extraordinary, but which however astonish none but those who have neglected to analyse them. It will appear that the patriotic armies are chiefly composed of a croud of blind persons, united by want or violence, but conducted by dexterous villains. It will be seen that they are in some measure prepared for combat, and they then may be compared to those savages, who, after having drunk fermented liquors, and mouthed out their war songs, are instantaneously possessed with fury, brandishing their weapons in a threatening manner; or rather, to those mastiffs who are naturally struck with dread at the sight of the lion; but soon edged on so far as to attack the terrible animal in front, who having surrounded himself with carcasses, finally sinks with fatigue beneath assaults so often renewed. It will not be useless to give a more ample explanation of these infernal tactics, so worthy of the monsters who invented them.

Whenever the regicides have to strike one of those great blows, the plan of which has been drawn by the committee of Public Safety, and for the success of which the General must answer with his head,
the

the army is mustered; the Commissioners appear, decorated with all their distinguishing badges; they read some bombast of the Convention or the Committee, and they add thereunto an oration in the oriental stile of the day; sworn creatures spread through the ranks in order to comment on it, applaud the frantic, and work on the indifferent; the air resounds afar with shouts of *vive la Republique*; with imprecations and blasphemies against all Kings, under the name of *tyrants*; against all their subjects, under the epithet of *slaves* or of *base satellites of despotism*; women, or rather *furies* or *bacchanals*, distribute brandy in great profusion; a warlike music, which would stimulate the most dastardly, puts the finishing stroke to error and fury, and fifty thousand savage beasts, foaming with rage, march with precipitation and the howls of cannibals, to fall on soldiers whose valor is excited by no passion. Is it at all surprising that a like shock should stagger, and end by putting them to flight?

In attacking the patriots on the other hand, one is always sure of taking them in some measure unprepared; that is to say, one has no longer to fear that furious impetuosity, so formidable; that phalanx, that unison of efforts, which was but the effect of the combination of every kind of illusion and deceit. The paroxysm of that violent fever, which so prodigiously increases the strength of the fanatics, is over; every one is in his natural temperament; no ordinary tie now connects so many incoherent parts; nothing can now supply the want of great abilities; mis-
trust

trust and want of discipline soon give birth to confusion and dismay. It is then that the bravest of troops, commanded by the Prince de *Cobourg* and General *Clairfayt*, resume all their superiority over those savage banditti, under command of *Jourdon*, *Michau*, and of that croud of little subaltern villains whom Fame has drawn from obscurity, but to consign them to the opprobrium and execration of future generations. One may be made sensible, by a comparison of these two situations of the regicides so widely different, when they fall on their enemies, or are attacked in their turn, by representing to oneself those old horses, once the honour of the stables, who, when wrought on by an artful groom, call to mind their former exploits, quicken their motions, resume all their mettle, and become in a situation to be compared with the most generous courfers. But these fictitious resources disappear with the cause which occasioned them, and if surprised the next moment, there will be found nothing but a weakness, in proportion to the violent effervescence to which they owed their success.

The same spirit of impartiality which guides me, and which induces me to form wishes for the fortunate termination of the great events on which the fate of Europe is suspended, obliges me to venture some more reflections on the conduct of the allies; for the dilatoriness which may with justice be imputed to the Generals, also extended to governments, and has universally been attended with consequences equally fatal. It was said at the commencement of the

the last war, that Mr. de *Sartine*'s clock was always slower than that of the English minister. With what reason might not the same be said of the clocks of all the cabinets of Europe with respect to that of the committee of *Public Safety*? I will select only two facts in support of a truth, which, alas! is too evident. The first, that unfortunate war of *la Vendée*, carried on by subjects of unshaken fidelity, who had gathered together, as it were by a miracle; supported themselves by an activity, a harmony and perseverance unparalleled; provided themselves with arms, ammunition, and artillery, by wresting them from the regicides by dint of resolution. Is it possible that these are the generous men, professing, in the height of their purity, the principles of religion and monarchy, who have been left for seven or eight months to their own strength, surrounded on all sides by foes, without supplies, without fortresses, having only still the same army to oppose forces which were increased and renewed incessantly? God grant that so much apathy may not have been the result of the machinations of a policy as blind as inhuman! However, they at length seemed to wish to assist them, and measures were taken for that purpose; but, whether from a fatality of circumstances, or awkwardness in making preparations, when the *Royalists* made their appearance on the coasts, they perceived none of the succours they hoped to find there. Destitute of heavy artillery, and of every means of attack, they went to shed deluges of blood, to no purpose, under the walls of such
a village

a village as *Granville*. The fear of being betrayed, of wanting provisions, and of being hemmed in by the ocean without any means of safety, induced those magnanimous victims to return to the interior part of the country, and to hew themselves a passage through an immense multitude of enemies, with no other resources than those of despair. The English reinforcement arrived at *Guernsey* very shortly after ; but this delay was sufficient to leave nothing to well-disposed persons but tears to shed, at the fate of so many thousands of faithful subjects, who, without doubt, would at present be the object of our fondest hopes, and of the well-founded dread of the Convention. It is impossible to ascertain the consequences of a conduct, as contrary to the maxims of sound policy as to those of humanity : already had the monstrous edifice of the Republic fallen to ruin, had it been discovered in time, that France would never be conquered without engaging Frenchmen to assist more or less against it ; that the counter-revolution chiefly depended on the success of the *Royalists* ; that the formation of their army was such as would be increased by that croud of faithful subjects, oppressed or compelled to counterfeit patriotism ; that it was, in short, established in a province extremely plentiful, entirely destitute of strong places, where the decisive success of one day might determine the conquest of several departments, and conduct the triumphant army under the walls of *Paris*.

I shall now proceed to the second instance, which is not much less distressing to the heart of the man
of

of feeling, nor decisive to the progress of the allies: unfortunately it will suffice to give a statement of facts. An eminent piece of good fortune, and such as is perhaps unprecedented in the chances of war, put *Toulon* in the hands of the English without costing them a single man or a cannon shot; they found there twenty-three excellent ships of the line, two of which were of 120, three of 80, and the rest of 74 guns, with a proportionate number of frigates and other armed vessels; three thousand cannon for the use of the navy, without reckoning a considerable land artillery; abundance of ammunition of all kinds; all manner of provisions for victualling a fleet, and a population of twenty-five to thirty thousand inhabitants, the greater part of them well disposed to maintain, with energy, the vigorous measure they had taken, beginning by disallowing the authority of the Convention, and ending by a surrender to its enemies. All concurred in engaging the allies to put themselves as soon as possible in a posture to carry on an offensive war;* and the geographical situation of *Toulon* offered the greatest advantages for that purpose: amongst others that of meeting with no place of strength, in whatever direction they might carry their

* It would not have required much more forces than to guard the city and harbour of *Toulon* in a proper manner, where they were obliged to divide the troops in seventeen important posts, the principal of which, such as the redoubt of *Balaguier* and the hill of *Pharon*, which were forced by the patriots, were near two leagues from each other, and separated by the sea, so that they could not give each other the least assistance.

their efforts. The regicides were not numerous in that part, had very few regular troops, and could not procure ammunition or provisions without the greatest difficulty. It was the only method of making them evacuate the county of *Nice*, of thereby restoring to the Piedmontoise and Austrian army all its activity, of combining with the Spaniards of *Roussillon*, and of taking advantage of the vicinity of some departments, the disposition of which is by no means equivocal to effect the counter-revolution in the South.

What has been done to preserve a conquest so precious and so unexpected? A feeble garrison was stationed there, composed of four foreign nations, speaking as many entirely distinct languages, and still more divided by views and animosities than by difference of speech. It was doubtless necessary, at the first moment, to make use of every advantage; but by what fatality was there no other existence than in the gazettes to those six thousand Austrians who were to embark, first at *Genoa* and then at *Leghorn*, and for which transports had for so long a time been provided? What could so long delay the reinforcement of a like number of English, assembled at *Cork*, in Ireland, almost at the very first moment, as to make them arrive a month after the evacuation? One of these reinforcements would probably have been sufficient to defend this important place against the efforts of a collection of twenty-five thousand men, raised in a hurry. The loss of it depended on the capture of a single redoubt, which there was
time

time to have fortified very leisurely, and which did not hold out an hour; whereas at *Cassel*, opposite *Mayence*, where there was not the least vestige of fortifications, the regicides had in a moment thrown up works of earth, so formidable, that the united Austrians and Prussians appeared diffident of attacking them with success.

Impressed with a sense of the conduct, above all praise, which the British nation now pursues, I despise all the reports in prejudice of English loyalty, to which that event has given rise; I consider them as the offspring of malevolence, or of that injustice which too often proceeds from misfortune. But, with the same spirit of impartiality and justice, I shall take particular notice of a circumstance which has not been sufficiently exposed to view, and which can be nothing but a stroke of villainous policy, if it cannot be attributed to unparalleled, as well as unpardonable neglect. I will ask why it was not at least thought of to secure in Italy, or in Spain, all the French vessels, from the first moment of their being dubious of keeping the place, the day on which the British Commissioner, *Gilbert Elliot*, communicated his doubts to the government, and ended by saying, that without soon being reinforced, there was hardly room to hope to keep *Toulon* until the twenty-fifth of December? The worthy Frenchmen, reduced to regret in some measure that all the shipping had not been consumed to ashes, cannot, however, but lament the loss of those which were a

F

prey

prey to the flames, and which might so easily have been saved.

Consider it well, all you in whose hands are intrusted the destinies of Europe; it is far better to meet with no success, than to be incessantly making retrograde motions. With what confidence do you now expect to inspire the wretched Frenchmen, the greatest enemies to actual tyranny? The good people of *Longwy*, of *Verdun*, and of a great part of *Champain*, who have manifested any good will towards you, have paid it with their heads, or else they are expiating in misery and exile their efforts to favour the progress of your arms: twenty thousand inhabitants of *Toulon*, of all ages and ranks, of both sexes, are wandering in a strange land, a prey to all the horrors of indigence and despair; and many hundreds of those who remained in that unfortunate town, condemned to total destruction, have, in the midst of punishments, cursed your cruel visit; the worthy inhabitants of *Haguenau*, and of all the conquered part of *Alsace*, are sacrificed, or fugitives; those of *Fort-Louis*, not knowing where to lay their heads, are regretting that they had not, in the same manner as *Landau*, strove to make the utmost resistance against you of which their town was capable; the partial ravages of your bombs would but, in some degree, have damaged their dwellings, the foundation of which have been shaken by your mines. . . . No, lost battles would not have injured you so materially as your ephemeral successes.

But let us draw a dark veil over calamities, unfortunately

unately irreparable, and recall past errors, only to derive from them wholesome lessons for the future. What is to day the subject of our regret, ought at the same time to be the motive of our fondest hopes: it is evident that the governments of Europe are far from having exerted all the means in their power, or made a good use of them, whilst we may defy the committee of *Public Safety* to display more unanimity, activity, vigor, or energy. Let kings at length lay aside (or at least let them postpone to more tranquil moments) those interested views, those projects of aggrandizement, those personal enmities, those fatal calculations of egotism, which put such dangerous weapons in the hands of the malevolent; which chill and discourage faithful subjects: let them be always just and great; let them shew themselves worthy of their exalted situations; let clemency and benevolence preside in their government, and win them all generous hearts; but, at the same time, let the rod of iron be lifted to strike the first disturber of the public quiet, who might be induced to mistake that goodness for imbecility.

Let Generals learn to be superior to those sordid and narrow calculations of pride which have so often caused the tears of humanity to flow; let them be thoroughly impressed with the sublimity of their important functions; let them not forget that it no longer concerns any one nation in particular, but that all Europe has intrusted them with the defence of its glory, its welfare, its existence, against the hordes of canibals who have sworn its subversion and annihilation;

lation; let all their mental faculties tend to this sole object; let them call to mind that *Rome* had been undone had *Hannibal* led his victorious army there immediately after the battle of *Cannæ*, and that *Rome* did not delay the destruction of *Carthage*: in short, let them be taught by the example of the Marshal de *Boufflers*, who placed himself, at *Malplaquet*, under the orders of *Villars*, whom he had a right to command, and who intreated him to accept the precedence, that true glory and the most refined heroism consist in sacrificing personal considerations, whenever any public benefit may be derived therefrom. Then, overcome on every side, guilt will expiate its bloody trophies; religion, now dissolved in tears, may hope to see her altars again reared and secured; so many victims, who are groaning in exile, or beneath the hand of oppression, will feel the benign ray of hope beam on their souls, now borne down by the combination of all the ills which can afflict humanity; persons of property, who are now alarmed, will be certain of transmitting to their children the patrimony of their ancestors, or the fruits of their industry; the virtuous citizen, in whatever situation heaven may have ordained his birth, will yet see days of serenity.

As I have given vent to my sorrows, and performed the task enjoined all men, of contributing to the public advantage by all the means in their power; having given warning, by my cries, of the danger which threatens the capitol, it were, perhaps, convenient to be silent, but I think it my duty to communicate

nicate the great operation which should be the basis of the plan of the campaign which I have drawn, and which I will not venture to make public, from respect to the abilities of the experienced Generals who are at the head of the armies, and from the apprehension of being misled by my zeal.

To begin properly, the campaign of 1794, it appears to me it should be commenced with the siege of *Lille*. The very moment the tri-coloured flag shall cease to fly on its ramparts, a great step will be made towards the counter-revolution, and it will be thought so in France very seriously; the regicides will be dismayed; the other towns will open their gates more readily; *West Flanders* will no longer be in dread of the continual incursions which harrafs it; the allies will be able to advance with confidence into the heart of the country, leaving in their rear a place likewise of great importance, and to take there more forces, as they will have nothing to fear for a great extent of their frontiers. This measure appears to me indispensable; but I am far from concealing the difficulties attending it, and I begin with the supposition of a great combination of troops, for with partial means no plan whatever will be crowned with success.

Forty-five thousand men, at least, must be intrusted with the labours and conducting of the siege; an army of seventy thousand fighting men, for the reparation of the losses of which there will be provision made, must be employed in covering the operations of it; another body of from nine to ten thousand
men,

men, almost all consisting of light troops, should be alternately on the van and on the flanks, in order to harrafs the enemy, to disturb them on different quarters, to disperse their meetings in embryo, and save the main body all the motions which would harrafs it to a great disadvantage. It must not be expected to go on without trouble at the siege of *Lille*, as at that of *Valenciennes*; on the contrary, the most strenuous and multiplied efforts must be depended on. It must still less be thought of, to wait the event inactively in formidable situations, or behind the abattis, as at *Maubeuge*; the allies ought to dread the obstructions which may for one moment impede their pursuit of the journey.—The army must be continually in motion; it must march either in a body or in detachments, to break up meetings in time, in order to resist light troops which might form in its neighbourhood. If a vast multitude gathers afar off to fall on it in a body, let it break up early to march and give it battle, on the most open ground; that is the theatre worthy of the invincible valor of the Austrians and their allies; it is there that all the military virtues concentrated, will undoubtedly triumph over those pillaging hordes, marching under the banners of guilt; it is there that a victory may be dearly purchased; but it is there also, that nothing can prevent reaping the fruits, the pursuit of the advantages of it, and putting it for a long time out of the enemy's power to hurt; for, if such troops are once routed on the plain, it will be impossible for them to rally.

The

The conduct of the besieging army ought to be in conformity, in every respect, to that of the army of observation; that is, their most trivial measures ought to tend to conciliate the greatest possible activity with the indispensable rules of prudence; and, in general, it will be necessary to swerve from old regulations in circumstances of so novel a nature. A great quantity of ammunition must be provided beforehand, in order to be certain of not being reduced; I do not say to suspend, but even to abate exertions for a moment. Let a great number of furnaces be carried under the walls of *Lille*; let the trenches be opened the same day the troops shall present themselves; let nothing be omitted to create astonishment and terror by operations of extraordinary strength and activity, for that is of great importance, more especially in a town, the vast population of which must necessarily have more or less influence in the garrison. Let the works of the siege be carried on in conformity to this plan, and the eventual circumstances which may modify it; but let nothing in the world slacken the fire of the batteries; they will only play nearer or farther off, according to the greater or less progress of the works. No cold shot should be sent into the town; let bombs be chiefly made use of, the terrible effect of which is so well adapted to the attainment of the desired end; let the number of rounds to be fired from each piece be invariably fixed beforehand, and at the precise moment let each of them dart terror, devastation

tion and death. My heart bleeds in drawing this dreadful sketch—can I form such wishes; I, on whom the ills of others make so lively an impression; I, who love France so tenderly, and would shed my blood to put an end to the calamities with which it is afflicted? Yes, alas! and it is humanity which suggests these violent remedies, for all the pure blood of France is shed continually in innumerable rivulets; we must make haste, whatever it may cost, to stop the course of it, and for that end we have long had no alternative but to chuse the least of two evils. The purity of my intentions encourages me; the importance of the object I have in view dispels my regret. In so dreadful a crisis, all caution would be a crime; such fatal pity would be that of a man cruelly tender, who, wishing to spare his patient some moments of agony, would be afraid of cutting to the quick in order to stop the progress of a gangrene; all timid circumspection would have the same effect as the short-sighted zeal of those, who, instead of destroying in time the house adjoining one on fire, spend their efforts in directing small streams of water to the heart of the conflagration, and thereby add new vigor to the devouring flames.

There remains nothing more for me, as well as for all well disposed persons of every country, but with uplifted hands, during the contest, to supplicate the Lord of Hosts to bless this new crusade, undertaken for a most holy cause, and truly worthy of an enlightened age. Woe be to those fools, whose
eyes

eyes these days of tribulation have not opened, and who, in this astonishing series of events, entirely supernatural, have not acknowledged and adored the hand which is smiting us! But their number is decreasing daily, and religion sees, with compassion, a flock of sheep returning to the fold, who, to all appearance, had strayed without the least prospect of return. Vouchsafe, Omnipotent God, to finish thy work, to disarm thy just wrath, to restrain thy avenging arm, to remove the fatal mist which conceals the truth from that multitude of souls redeemed by thy precious blood, and who are obstinately rushing to destruction! vouchsafe to guard those thousands of victims on the eve of being sacrificed by the murderous steel; to save the unfortunate remains of that august family which presents to our view so dreadful a memento of the instability of human grandeur; to restrain so many arms already uplifted to strike; to stop so many deluges of blood which are going to be shed! Making the use thou hast commanded of the means in our power, in thee alone we center all our hopes. Permit not guilt to triumph; break the instruments of thy vengeance, and let the impious wretches learn to know that God whom they have so highly offended.

All past trials, however severe they may appear to us, will be as many signal favours, if, through thy grace, they may teach Kings to act as thy worthy representatives on earth; nations, never to transgress the bounds of submission more strictly enjoined

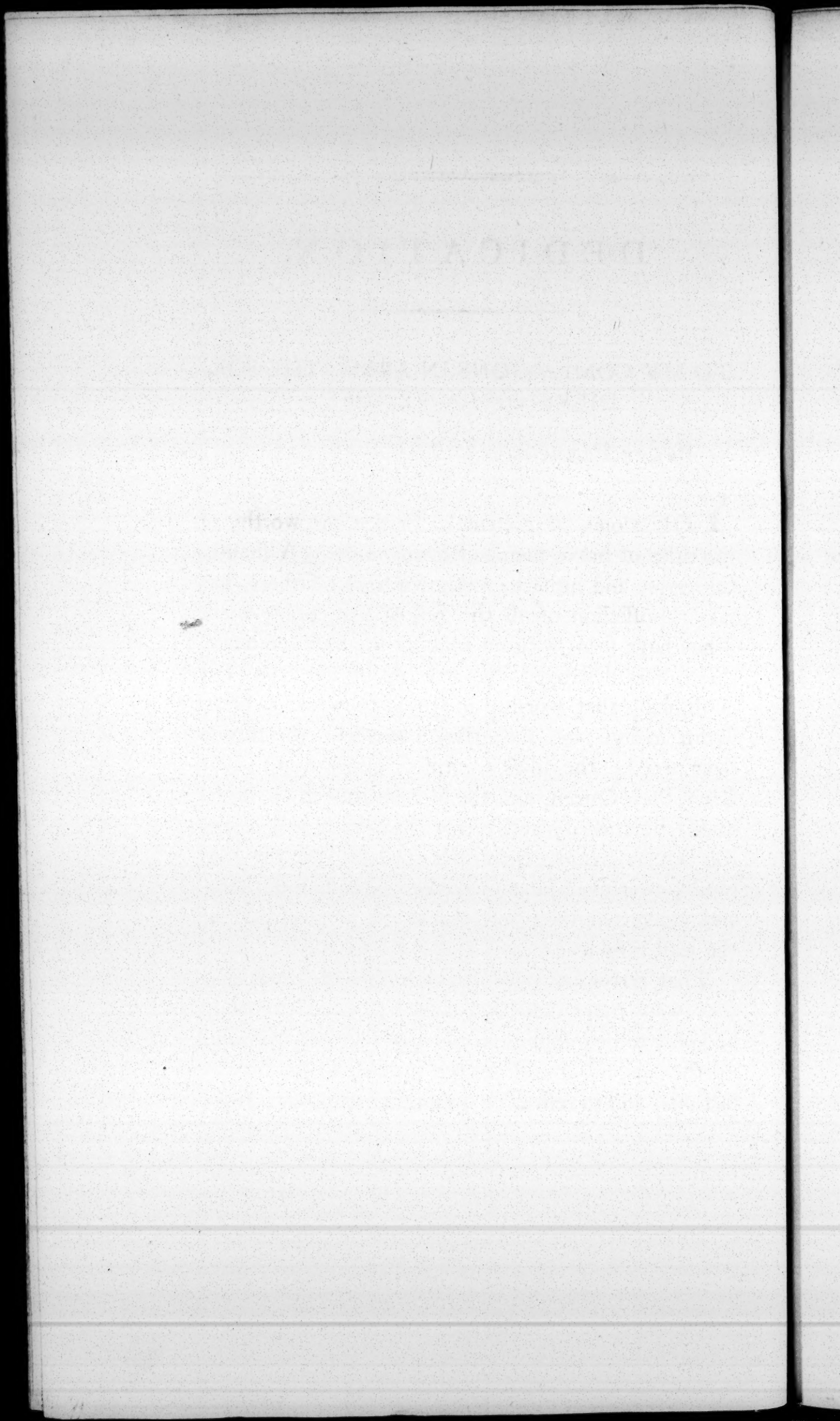
G

by

by their interest than by their duty; all of us, that this world is but an abode of sorrow and exile, and that we must hasten to turn the misfortunes of the times to good advantage, in order to render us worthy of finally enjoying more lasting happiness.



THE
ÆRAS OF EVENTS
SUSSEQUENT TO THE
REVOLUTION OF FRANCE.



DEDICATION.

TO MY COMPANIONS IN ARMS, THE SOLDIERS OF LA VENDEE.

BRAVE FRENCHMEN!

YOU alone, at present in France, are worthy of the titles of brave men and Frenchmen. A shameful terror, and hitherto unknown to our fathers, has taken possession of all the rest of our countrymen. They have seen, without making the least resistance, their altars destroyed, the worship of the true God abolished; that worship in which they had so often sworn to live and die; they have seen the throne overturned; the lilies trampled under foot; their King, their Queen, and the sister of their King inhumanly butchered; and terror, base terror, that terror which creates cowardice, which destroys the most powerful empires, has taken possession of them, and converted them into stupid men, incapable of the least resistance.

That terror has prevented them from seeing that they were more than an hundred to one; that they had only to be resolute and to come forward, to build up their altars, to restore the throne, to punish the factious, and to restore to France all its glory: from
a degree

a degree of blindness incomprehensible to Frenchmen they have remained bending under the most dreadful yoke, under the most barbarous and most inhuman sway; they have even had the weakness to forward the views of their tyrants.

Courage, my brave companions, courage! We are the army of the Almighty God; we are guided by his banners; in our country, in the midst of us are reserved a great number of faithful worshippers, who will never bow the knee before BAAL. On us now depends the empire of the lilies; France no longer exists but with us, and with our exiled brethren. Let us always be certain of victory, and we shall always conquer.

If any one among us be impressed with that terror which has destroyed France, let us intreat him to withdraw; it is not to numbers that we shall owe our victory, but to our courage, or rather to our confidence in the Most High, who will be our strength, who will cause us to overthrow our enemies at the very moment when they will be certain of slaughtering every one of us. How many proofs have we not already received of his protection! Let us call to mind the ever-memorable day when we were but 6000, badly armed, without having ever been trained in warlike exercises, and when we conquered 50,000 regicides, who trusted on their numbers, the strength of their arms, and their discipline.

Let us often look up to our colours; they will incessantly remind us that we are fighting for God himself; that we bear arms for his church; to avenge
our

our august sacraments which have been prophaned in the most sacrilegious manner ; to avenge our murdered King ; to establish his legitimate successor ; and with such sentiments we cannot fail to be invincible.

The little chronicle which I now offer you, in which you will find an account of the crimes brought forth by the revolution, cannot but inspire you with greater ardor to revenge them, and for this reason I now offer it.

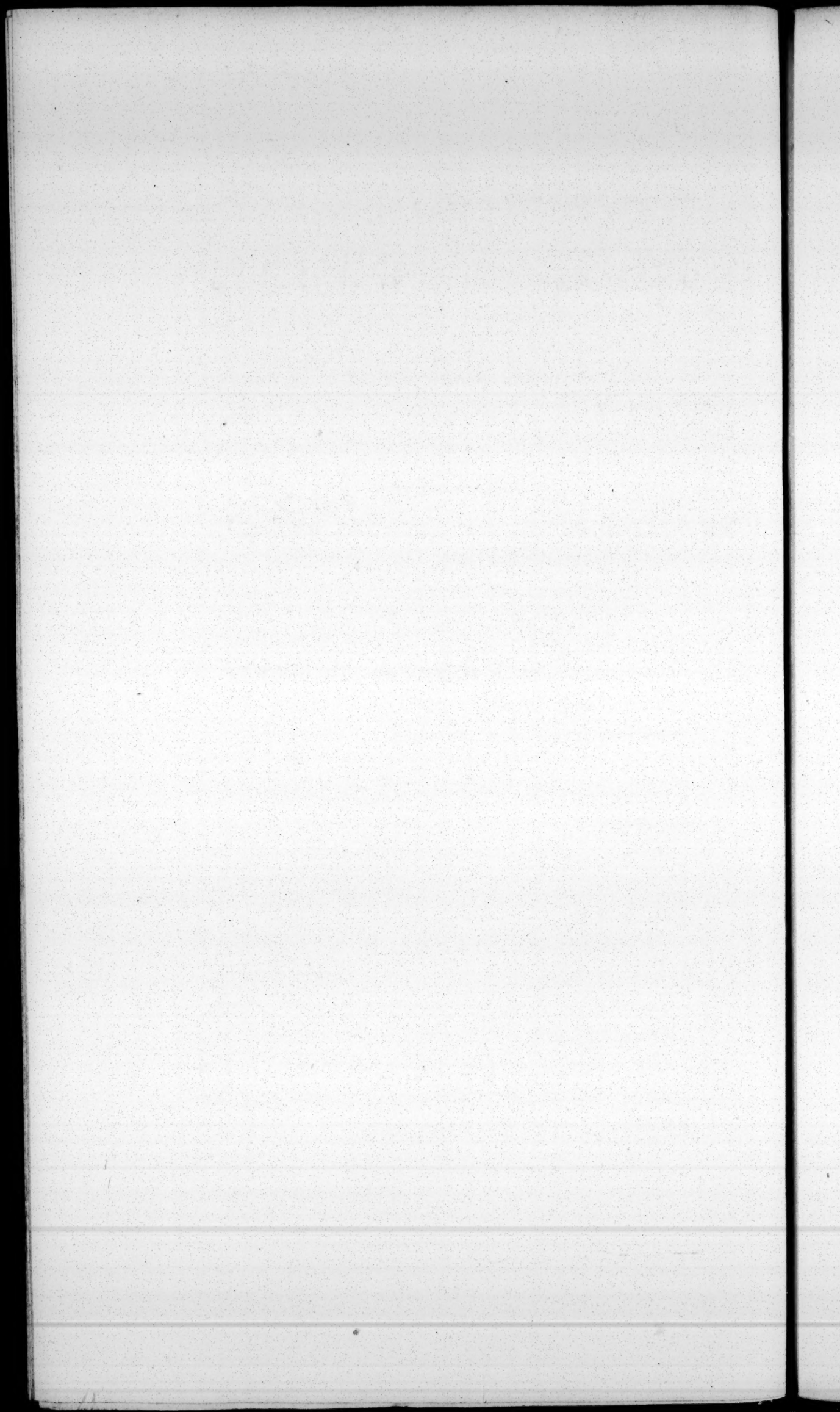
I am, with sentiments of admiration, with which you have inspired all Europe,

Brave Frenchmen,

Your companion in arms,

ETIENNE RICHARD.

HISTORICAL



HISTORICAL CHRONICLE,

FROM

OCTOBER, 1793, to the MONTH of JULY, 1794.

OCTOBER.

- 1st. ABOUT the beginning of this month the Sardinian troops are forced by the republicans to evacuate the Tarentaise and the Maurienne. They gain some advantages over the republicans near Saorgio.
3. A great number of deputies arrested in the Convention, are given up to the revolutionary tribunal.
6. Geras, a deputy who was outlawed, is arrested at the Palais Royal, and guillotined in twenty-four hours.
8. On the first and the eighth, the allies gain several advantages over the republicans at Toulon.
9. The city of Lyons surrenders to the republicans, after having sustained a siege for several days.
13. The allies at length take possession of the famous lines of Weissemburg; Lauterburg surrenders to them the same day.

H

14. At

14. At St. Dennis all the tombs of the Kings interred in that abbey are destroyed.
 16. The Queen of France, Marie Antoinette of Austria, is carried in a tumbrel, with her back to the horses tail, and her hands tied behind her back, to the place of execution, where she is guillotined. Let us lament, but avenge her.
 17. General Cobourg, being attacked by the republicans, is obliged to raise the siege of Maubeuge, and repass the Sambre.
 19. The republicans gain some advantages in Piémont.
 21. It is reported to the Convention that the Bishop of Moulin officiated with a pike and a red cap instead of a crozier and mitre: it is added, that the following inscription was placed on the gate of the burying ground, *Death is but an everlasting sleep*. The Convention approves of these horrors.
 22. André Dumont, representative of the people, writes from Abbeville to the Convention: *I make both cross and crucifix disappear; I shall comprise in my proscriptions all those sable animals termed priests, &c.*
- The Convention directs, that the news of the destruction of la *Vendée* shall be sent into all the departments.
- The Prussians in the neighbourhood of Saarbruck, gain some advantages over the republicans.
24. The royalists of la *Vendée*, whom the Convention yesterday declared to be destroyed, take possession of Laval, and oblige the republicans
to

to retreat towards Chateau-Gontier, with considerable loss.

26. Every day since the 21st the republicans attack the whole line of the allies from Nieuport to the Rhine. On each side the advantages of one place are counterbalanced by the disadvantages of another; the republicans frequently repulsed one day with considerable loss, on the next take possession of posts which they could not force the day before.
27. A new decree against priests. The republicans lose 3000 men in two actions: the first on the 26th, against General Wurmser; the second on the 27th, against the Prussians.
28. The allies lay siege to Landau and Fort Louis. The royalists of la Vendée entirely defeat the republicans, take their baggage, their artillery, and their ammunition.
29. The republicans who had taken possession of Menin, Courtray, and Furnes, were besieging Nieuport, and threatening Ostend, are obliged to raise the siege of Nieuport, and to evacuate the other places they were in possession of in Brabant. A decree permitting jurors to declare to the judge, *that their opinions being formed, a farther discussion is useless*. By this means the accused are deprived of a defence.
30. The representatives of the people sent to Lyons, write to the Convention that 800 men are employed at the demolition of the city of Lyons, in conformity to a decree passed the 16th instant, which

which directs, that the city of Lyons, (the first of the kingdom next to Paris) shall be destroyed.

The Duke of York retakes Marchiennes, which the republicans had taken possession of on the 21st: he finds twelve cannon in this town, and makes 1629 prisoners.

A decree of the Convention, admitting natural children to inherit with legitimate, the succession of their parents, unless their father or mother were not married to any other at the time of their birth.

31. Twenty-one deputies to the Convention are condemned to death, and guillotined, viz. Brissot, Verniaud, Genfonnet, Duprat, Valazé, Lehardy, Ducos, Boyer Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardien, Du Chastel, Sillery, Fauchet, Duperret, la Source, Carra, Beauvais, Mainville, Antiboul, Vigée, and La Caze.

The royalists of la Vendée, some time since, took possession of the island of Noirmoutier.

NOVEMBER.

1st. A column of the royalists of La Vendée pass the Loire at Ancenis, about the beginning of this month.

Philip Egalité is brought back to Paris, and confined in the Conciergerie.

Two actions between the Spaniards and the republicans, who lose in the first, which took place in the eastern Pyrénées, 1000 men, and in the other, which took place in Roussillon, from 4 to 5000 men, and 12 pieces of cannon.

2. A

2. A deputy proposes in the Convention to guillotine all husbandmen and farmers who are monopolists.
4. The infamous Philip Egalité is guillotined on the same scaffold to which he brought his King. Was it ordained that this execrable wretch should die the same death as the most just of Kings?
Lidon, deputy to the Assembly, being outlawed, shoots himself. The inhabitants of Rouen cannot procure but a quarter of a pound of bread each per diem. Complaints of famine from all quarters.
5. General Beaulieu defeats the French, whom he forces to retreat to Philippeville and to Givet.
6. The shrine of St. Geneviève, patroness of Paris, for which all France, and the Parisians especially, ever had the most profound veneration, is carried off in the night.
7. The constitutional bishop of Paris, his vicars, three other constitutional bishops, and two curates, abdicate in the Convention, their sacerdotal character, or rather the religion which they had professed to teach and defend.
8. The wife of the ex-minister, Roland de la Platière, is condemned to death and executed the same day, with five municipal officers of the Pont du Cé.
10. A Pagan feast is held in the cathedral of Paris; a woman there receives the honours withheld from the divinity.
11. Bailly, first Mayor of Paris, is guillotined.
12. The great successes of the royalists of la Vendée terrify

terrify the Convention and its partizans. The royalists, after passing the Loire, took possession of the towns of Mayence, Ernée, Fougères, and completely defeated the republicans near this last town.

14. The Piemontese are forced by the republicans to abandon their camp of la Magdeleine.

At Lyons 2 or 3000 men are slain by firing at them with grape shot, and those who were only wounded were finished with cutlasses.

15. The reduction of Fort Louis.

More than 200 persons were guillotined at Strasbourg for having hesitated to pay the proportion required of them, of a contribution of 9,333,000 livres, which were to be raised in 24 hours.

16. Collot d'Herbois and Foucher, deputies sent to Lyons, write from that city that the demolition is too slow; they request that the explosion of Mines and the activity of flames may be employed for the destruction of the city of Lyons.

The allies make a sally from Toulon, kill 2000 republicans, destroy their works, and take eleven pieces of cannon.

Deputies Manuel and Cussy, and Generals Brunel and Houchard are guillotined.

18. Thuriot, Chabot, Bazire, l'Aunay d'Angers, all deputies, are imprisoned. Champfort, a literary character, has the resolution to cut his own throat.

Several successive actions between the republicans and the Prussians in the neighbourhood of Bitche; the

the latter are obliged to retreat. In another quarter the republicans lose 8000 men in an action with General Wurmser.

19. The Sardinians, after two successive actions against the republicans, are obliged to retreat.

Mr. de la Verdy, formerly Comptroller-General of the finances, is guillotined.

23. The royalists of la Vendée take possession of the post of Autrain, after having worsted the republicans.

26. General Brentano, at the head of the Sardinian troops, drives back the republicans whom he attacked.

The Spanish army gains an important victory over the republicans, taking from them three batteries of cannon.

Chambon, member of the Convention, Mayor of Paris at the time of the murder of Louis XVI. being outlawed, is killed by the inhabitants of Tulle, with whom he had taken sanctuary.

General Lamorlière is guillotined.

27. The royalists of la Vendée, since they passed the Loire, have made themselves masters of several towns in Normandy and Brittany. On the 19th they took possession of Granville, which they were obliged to evacuate immediately. They also took possession of Avranches, Dol, &c. but they could not remain in these towns which were open on every quarter.

29. Barnave, deputy to the first Assembly, one of the chief authors of the revolution, and Duport
du

du Tertre, then minister of justice, are guillotined.

30. The republicans continue to advance into the dutchy of Deux-Ponts.

General O'Hara, Commandant of Toulon, is made prisoner by the republicans.

DECEMBER.

1. The right wing of the Austrian army takes 1200 republicans prisoners, and kills 1700.

2. The Prince of Condé's division takes from the republicans seven cannon, all their artillery horses, and kills 1300 of their men.

The Prince of Brunswick attacks the republicans, who, in this action, lose 6000 men, killed, wounded and made prisoners.

The Count de Wurmser also attacks the republicans, kills 10,000 men, takes 5000 prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery.

4. The republicans evacuate the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, after having lost in action a great number of men and horses, who were piled up to the height of five feet for a considerable extent of ground before the Prussian intrenchments.

5. Rabaud de St. Etienne, ex-constituent protestant clergyman, likewise Pommier, his brother, are guillotined.

Clavière, ex-minister of the finances, stabs himself in prison.

Raymond le Veuve, ex-constituent, is guillotined at Bordeaux.

7. The royalists of la Vendée take possession of la Flèche.

8. Kersaint,

8. Kersaint, ex-constituent, Noel, ex-deputy, and Madame du Barri, are guillotined.

9. The republicans almost every day attack the Austrian and Prussian armies, and are always repulsed with considerable loss.

The Duke de Châtelet is guillotined; 150 persons undergo the same fate at Dunkerque.

11. The republicans, notwithstanding their continual losses, still attack the lines of the allies; they lose more than 5000 men in an attack they make near Haguenau.

Valadi, an outlawed deputy, is discovered and guillotined at Perigueux.

12. Defeat of the royalists at Mans.

13. An action near la Guerche, in which a column of the royalists of la Vendée kills 7000 republicans, and takes all their artillery.

14. The republicans attack the advanced posts of the allies in the neighbourhood of Courtray, and are repulsed.

The General, his aid-de-camp, and all the staff of the revolutionary army are arrested at *Lille*, in Flanders, to the number of twenty-five.

16. The republicans again attack General Wurmer's lines, and are again repulsed with considerable loss.

18. A new victory gained by the royalists of la Vendée near Cancale.

19. Toulon retaken by the republicans.

Madame de Villette, niece to Voltaire, guillotined.

20. The Duke of Brunswick totally defeats the republicans,

publicans, of whom he kills 10,000, takes 47 pieces of cannon, also all the camp, baggage and ammunition.

22. The republicans again attack the lines of the allies: in this instance they have the advantage. They take 16 cannon, and kill from 4 to 500 men.
27. The republican army retakes the famous lines of Weiffembourg, and takes possession of the town.
29. The allies raise the siege of Landau.

JANUARY, 1794.

1. The representatives of the people, in order the sooner to get rid of the prisoners of la Vendée, order them to be thrown into the Loire.
2. The island of Noir Moutier retaken by the republicans; 800 royalists are killed, and 1200 made prisoners.
3. Luckner, constitutional Maréchal of France, and the younger Custine, twenty-five years old, were guillotined.
4. 800 emigrants perish in crossing the Rhine.
5. The Prince de Talmond, one of the chiefs of the royalist army, is taken by the republicans, near Fougères. The remains of his army join that of the *Chouans*.
6. Cambon, comptroller-general of the finances of the Convention, complains, that the list of emigrants, on fine paper, and in large characters, is too costly: he obtains a decree that it shall be printed on a small type, and in small octavo.
7. Mr. Despresmenil, counsellor of the parliament
of

of Paris, is arrested. General Carteau is committed to the Conciergerie.

8. Denunciation of Generals Roncin and Roffignol, commanding the armies of the republic against la Vendée.
9. The revolutionary tribunal of Lyons cause to be guillotined in effigy the kings of England, of Spain, of Prussia, of Sardinia, the Emperor, the Pope, Mr. Pitt, and burns the city of Toulon, represented by the figure of a woman.
10. A great quarrel in the Jacobin club, between Hebert, author of the filthy journal of *Father Duchêne*, and Camille Desmoullins, author of the journal *le Vieux Cordelier*. Hebert is convicted of having received, the 2d of June, 1793, 123,000 livres, and the 4th of October, 60,000 livres more from the national treasury for his journal.

The imprisonment of Thomas Paine, and of Anacharsis Cloots, at Luxembourg.

12. A diamond, valued at 12 millions, is removed from the Archives of the Convention, to the chest of la Rue Vivienne, lest it might be embezzled.
13. A letter to the President of the Convention, written from Vitré—"The souls of the greatest
" part of the royalist chiefs have been sent to the
" eternal father; we are continually destroying
" the Chouans, those infernal banditti; they are
" insurgents, commanded by two brothers of that
" name; they will make themselves talked of."

14. It

14. It is ordered in the Jacobin club, that all the Philippics, which were delivered there against the British Constitution, shall be sent to the British patriots in the three kingdoms.
15. The French are employed in repairing the famous lines of Weissenbourg, in order to cover the siege of Fort Louis.
16. The Baron de Latude, a long time imprisoned in the Bastile, and considered as a proof of despotism, is condemned to the guillotine.
17. The committee of Public Safety decrees, that the functions of Citizen Simon, cordwainer, governor, and tutor of the young king, confined in the temple, are useless, and that he shall not be replaced.
18. A citizen proposes to establish a manufacture of cloth, two thirds of wool, and one third of hair.
19. The chimney sweeps petition the Convention that the Abbé de Fénélon, who has been a father to them for 60 years, may be set at liberty.
20. Mr. Bishops-Verder, of the sect of New-Lights, Minister from the King of Prussia, is sent back.
21. Anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. His assassins and executioners say that this day is a day of glory to the French nation.
22. The resignation of general Wurmser, and the Duke of Brunswick; the first is succeeded by general Braun, the second by Mullendorf.
23. From the 13th of December to the 24th inst. there have been, at Lyons, 325 persons guillotined, and 339 shot.

24. The

24. The property of the clergy, nobility, and Bankers, arrested as suspected persons, is sequestered.
25. A deputation of the Americans residing in Paris requests the liberty of Thomas Paine, their fellow citizen. They are answered, that Thomas Paine is a native of England.
26. Arrival at Bruxelles of Colonel Mack, the hero of Famars, the pupil of Lawdon; an active, able, and modest officer.
27. The Convention decrees, that all the castles in the conquered countries, not made use of as hospitals shall be burnt.
28. Likewise decreed, that monthly, 62 millions of paper be appropriated to the use of the minister at war.
29. Likewise decreed the raising of a body of cavalry of 95,000 men for the approaching spring. This decree could not be executed.
30. Above three thousand peasants of la Vendée have been guillotined or shot at Nantz in the course of this month.
31. M. de Perigord-Taleyrand, bishop of Autun, is sent away from England.

FEBRUARY.

1. La Borde, formerly banker of the court, father to la Borde de Merville, a constituent deputy, purchases his liberty with some millions
2. "ALL GREECE," a new opera: Philip, terrified at seeing all Greece rising in a body, asks for peace: they refuse to make peace with a king.

3. A citizen declares before the Convention, that he makes very good soap out of potatoes.
4. The Convention decrees that slavery is abolished in all the French colonies.
5. General Pichegru succeeds General Jourdon in the command of the northern army.
6. One of the brave brothers, Chouans, is killed. Prince Talmond and 14 old priests are guillotined.
7. A deputation of the people of colour thanks the Convention for having acknowledged them as brethren.
8. The Convention decrees, that the officer and the soldier shall be entertained alike on a march; a man having but one stomach.
9. A bloody fray between the republican soldiers and those of the revolutionary army.
10. The royalists are victorious at St. Fulgent, and at Cholet.
11. The duke and dutchess of Haynes, their only daughter, and Matthew de Montmorency, ex-constituent, their son-in-law, are imprisoned.
12. An architect lays before the Convention a work, in which he pretends to prove, that the national domains amount to twenty thousand millions.
13. The deputies from the county of Monbelliard, request the union of that county to the French republic.
14. It had been decreed, that Marseilles should be called *Nameless*: the pristine name is resumed.

15. All

15. All mints are suppressed as useless, except that of Paris.
16. Barrere, in his statement, compares the royalist party of la Vendée, to the Hydra, the heads of which are renewed as fast as cut off.
17. The butchers of Paris are accused of counter-revolution, because, among 280 sheep killed by them, there were 170 pregnant ewes.
18. Promotion of the Abbé Mauri to the eminent dignity of cardinal.
19. Troops leave Paris to fight the royalists; they are ordered to march 14 leagues per diem.
20. Thomas Paine claims the protection of the Cordeliers, who, by way of answer, send him his own oration in favour of Louis XVI.
21. M. Duchassaut, a flag officer, aged 85 years, covered with laurels, with virtues and with wounds, is butchered in Poitou.
22. The Austrians bring 17,000 French prisoners in a body to Oudenarde.
23. A certain proportion of victuals is fixed for suspected persons in confinement.
24. The use of meat at Paris is exclusively reserved for the sick, women in childbed, and the infirm.
25. Imprisonment of the famous Picot, wife of Charles Lameth, ex-constituent.
26. A report respecting la Vendée: it consists of sixteen districts, the whole extent of which is at least forty square leagues, between the Loire and the sea, from Painbœuf to Saumur.
27. Meat

27. Meat fails at Paris: Barrere and Legendre preach abstinence from it in favour of liberty.
28. The sister of Mirabeau is reduced to ask charity at the National Convention.

MARCH.

1. The natural death of ex-cardinal de Loménie, ex-first minister, a man without morals, without religion, and without abilities, the chief cause of the misfortunes of France.
 2. General Lapoype is brought to the bar. It is universally known that this General was turned out of the French guards at the age of 18.
 3. The sale of the property of the emigrants in 1793, amounted to no more than twenty millions, according to the report made this day. This sum is not the half of the real estate of one emigrant, the Prince de Montmorency.
 4. The society of Seurre, in Burgundy, requires the death of the son of the *infamous* Capet.
- All the horses of the husbandmen are put in requisition.
6. Prior to this day, more than five thousand victims have been sacrificed at Lyons, by the guillotine and cannon loaded with grape shot.
 7. Populus, ex-constituent of ridiculous memory, guillotined at Lyons.
 8. The number of prisoners at Paris is 6100.
 9. The minister of justice proposes the establishment of a committee of insurrection, for the purpose of overthrowing all the monarchies in Europe.

10. Anni-

10. Anniversary of the memorable day of the first assembling of the Catholic and Royalist army.
11. The club of Jacobins and that of the Cordeliers enter into an *offensive* treaty.
12. At Nevers, 74 priests, who refuse the oath, are suspended; at Dijon, 14 nobles, who continued to stile each other *Counts* and *Barons*, are guillotined.
13. All the merchants of Bordeaux are arrested the same day, and condemned, in the presence of the guillotine, to a fine of one hundred millions.
14. Robespierre and Couthon invent a conspiracy to authorise their tyranny.
15. Hebert and his partizans arrested. A treachery of the Jacobins to the Cordeliers.
16. Bazine, Chabot, Fabre d'Eglantines, Julien and de Launay, all murderers of Louis XVI. are guillotined.
17. Herault de Séchelles, traitor to the King, to the magistracy, and to the nobility, is guillotined.
18. A decree banishing all strangers from Paris.
19. The woman, Memoro, who had acted the part of Reason, and received the adorations of the Convention, is guillotined.
20. General Cordelier beats the royalists on the left shore of the Loire.
21. A decree by the Emperor, prohibiting his subjects from making payments in France.
22. The Convention confesses that the expences of 1793, amounted to about four hundred millions per month.

23. A decree, prohibiting the wives of emigrants to marry strangers.
24. The island of Martinique entirely in the possession of the English.
25. St. Hurugue complains, that he has had the honour done him of being treated as an emigrant.
26. Discovery of a secret for converting paper which has been already printed into new.
27. A reinforcement of 8000 men is sent to the General in la Vendée.
28. The Revolutionary army disbanded.
29. The unwholesome air expelled by burning common salt, sprinkled with oil of vitriol.
30. Cardinal Maury's brother guillotined at Avignon.
31. General Jourdon is nominated to the command of the army of Moselle.

APRIL.

1. Danton, la Croix, Camille Desmoulins, and Philipaux, are arrested and delivered to the revolutionary tribunal.
2. The island of St. Lucie taken by the English.
3. Camille Desmoulins being asked his age, answers, *that of the Sans Culotte Jesus*, 33 years.
4. The number of prisoners at Paris is 6763.
5. The abolition of the Executive Council until the peace.
6. Westerman, who stiled himself conqueror of the royalists, is guillotined.
7. The Emperor's entry into Bruxelles: he promises all his assistance to the French emigrants.
8. Dumas,

8. Dumas, deputy to the Convention, points out the mode of discovering a counter-revolutionary person by physiognomy.
9. Gobet, illegally chosen bishop of Paris, is guillotined.
10. An ordinance of the Emperor against the abettors of the French system.
11. The honours of the Pantheon are granted to J. J. Rousseau.
12. Capture of the town of Oneglia by the French.
13. St. Just asks, What is a king compared to a French citizen?
14. The allies being attacked on the Lys, repulse the republicans.
15. Defaunais, a famous sharper before the revolution, is condemned to ten years imprisonment, for having cheated the republic.
16. The daughter of Achmet III. who has resided in France for 64 years, obtains a national donation of 600 livres.
17. The decree against the nobles is mollified in favour of those who have purchased nobility.
18. The rich la Borde, after having purchased his life seven or eight times, is guillotined.
19. The principal members of the parliament of Paris, and of that of Toulouse, are guillotined.
20. All the woods at Vitré and Rennes are set on fire to dislodge the royalists.
21. General Beaulieu beats the French at Arlon.
22. The English take the island of Guadaloupe.
23. They take the Pomona and l'Engageante republican frigates.

24. The

24. The allies beat the French near Cambrai.
25. Mr. de Lamoignon de Malherbes, counsel for Louis XVI. is guillotined.
26. The Duke of York takes the republican general, thirty-five pieces of artillery, kills five thousand men, and takes 3000 prisoners.
27. To expedite the sale of the property of the emigrants, it is divided into lots of 300 livres tournois, and a credit of 20 years is given.
28. The republicans take possession of Courtrai on a fair-day, and have great plunder.
29. General Clairfait takes 32 pieces of artillery, and about 3000 men.
30. Reduction of the fortress of Landrecies; the garrison of 7,600 men are made prisoners.

MAY.

1. In la Vendée, General Haro shoots himself, like General Moulin, that he may not be taken.
2. An epidemic at Strasburg; 1500 soldiers and 900 citizens are carried off by it.
3. All foreign letters are detained on the frontiers, and opened.
4. From the 28th of April, to this day, 109 persons have been guillotined at Paris:—the guillotine is likewise made use of in other cities of the kingdom.
5. 6000 republicans killed in the valley of Aost by the Piemontese peasants.
6. Barrere communicates the capture of the Spanish Camp, 200 cannon, and 2000 prisoners.

7. A French frigate taken, carrying 44 guns, and 247 men.
8. The Farmers-General are accused in bulk, and sent before the revolutionary tribunal.
9. The republicans take possession of the town of Sargio, and the Piemontese camp.
10. Seventy-one persons, 27 of whom are Farmers-General, are guillotined.
11. Institution of the Decadary feasts, to the number of 36.
12. Madame Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. is guillotined.
13. Suppression of the revolutionary tribunals except that of Paris.
14. L'Hullier kills himself in prison, and Rebec drowns himself; both actors in the massacres of Avignon, and of the 2d September.
15. Kaunitz compels the French to repass the Sambre, and kills 5000 men.
16. An action between General Clairfait and the French, who lose 1500 men.
17. A decree ordering that all old or infirm priests shall be confined.
18. 3500 English of his royal Highness the Duke of York's army are worsted by 15000 republicans.
19. General Beaulieu, near Bouillon, kills 3000 Frenchmen, and takes 700 prisoners.
20. The Convention enacts that there shall be no more beggars, and the number is greatly increased.
22. A battle near Tournay, which lasts 16 hours: the French lose 12,000, and the allies 3000.

23. A French army of 10,000 men penetrates into Luxembourg.
24. The Count de Kaunitz takes 20 pieces of artillery, kills 2000 Frenchmen, and takes 3000 prisoners.
25. An insurrection of the patriots at Liege.
26. Thirty-two Dutch, and fourteen English vessels are taken by the French fleet.
27. The Emperor returns to Vienna.
28. Engagement between the Audacieux and the Bretagne.
29. Action of Germersheim; the French lose there 400 men, and 600 made prisoners.
30. A plot frustrated, to assassinate the representative of the people, Collot d'Herbois.
31. A plot formed to assassinate Robespierre.

JUNE.

1. Engagement between the British and republican fleets; the latter loses eight ships of the line, two of which are sunk.
2. The Convention decrees that an Englishman or Hanoverian shall not be taken prisoner.
3. At St. Brioux the guillotine is burnt, and the revolutionary tribunal expelled.
3. Defeat of the republican army near Charleroi, which loses 4000 men.
5. The deliverer of Collot d'Herbois obtains a national pension of 1500 livres.
6. At Sens the father and mother of Louis XVI. are dug up and buried in the common burying ground.
7. Institution

7. Institution of a military school in the Plain of Sablons.
8. Jourdon, nicknamed *Coupe-tete*, General of the army of Avignon, is guillotined.
9. The son of Louis XVI. makes shoes for the foldiers, and the Princess Royal makes shirts for the nation.
10. General Clairfait is obliged to retreat.
11. The French take Port Vendre, Collioure, and St. Elme.
12. The deputies of the Convention assume the tri-coloured plume and scarf.
13. A feast to the Eternal. A separation of the two sexes for 24 hours.
14. The number of the French in the maritime part of Flanders is estimated at 170,000 men.
15. The patriots of Berne, notwithstanding the great distance, send to the Parisians offers of furnishing them with provisions.
16. An action near Charleroi: the French lose 7000 men.
17. The inviolability of deputies to the Convention is renewed.
18. One hundred and sixteen vessels from America arrive in France.
19. Surrender of the town of Ypres to the French.
20. Terror and the guillotine occasion the emigration of more than 50,000 Frenchmen.
21. Beginning of the quarrel between Robespierre and Bourdon de l'Oise.
22. Another quarrel between Robespierre and Talien.

23. Money

23. Money and jewels in the pockets of confined suspected persons are taken away.
24. Twenty-one members of the Parliament of Toulon are guillotined at Paris.
25. Ninety-four nuns at Angers are condemned to be transported to Africa.
26. Lord Moira's army succours his Royal Highness the Duke of York's.
27. Men, horses, provisions and all property in France are put in a state of requisition.
28. A great conspiracy is supposed, in order to authorise great massacres.
29. The French besiege Charleroi.
30. The republicans attack the allies in the North with such numerous forces, that the allies have no alternative but to retreat. We shall mention next year what have been the consequences of this event.



PROCLAMATION
OF THE GENERALS OF THE
ARMY OF THE ROYALISTS.

By the King.

*The Generals and Chiefs of the Royal and Catholic
Army of Brittany, to the Generals, Officers, and
Soldiers of the Armies and Guards termed National
Republicans.*

FRENCH SOLDIERS,

WILL this appellation long be the only one which can give you any affinity with us? Although the most horrid guilt and the most profound villainy have hitherto employed unnatural means to arm citizens against citizens, brothers against brothers, to occasion friends to be slaughtered by friends, and fathers by their own children, French valor so unworthily lavished ought at length to reconcile us—it is time to understand each other.

Can the French soldier have become all at once a base machine, of which the most artful knave takes possession and manages its motions to his own liking?

L

Are

Are you then debarred the liberty of reflecting and reasoning on the causes for which you have shed your blood incessantly? And will the fear of punishment prevent the man accustomed to brave death from considering what he can and what he ought to do?

What has excited that atrocious and cruel war which we are daily waging? Who are we, and wherefore do we fight?

On one hand, a vicious republic, the empty name of which serves but to conceal from men of no judgment the most dreadful anarchy, the destruction of the sacred principles of religion, of order, of government, of respect for individuals, and the rights of property, impudently veiled under the name of liberty and equality, which no one enjoys.

A silly assembly which lately voted with acclamations and yelled applause, at the issuing of those inhuman decrees dictated by a villain before whom it bowed the knee, and whom a more artful villain has just brought to the scaffold, to make room for another himself, now throws the odium of all its crimes on that pretended tyrant, whose misdeeds none of the members of it would have dared to expose a month ago. Thus, in order to avoid the imputation of villainy, it is guilty of folly and cowardice; and those are the men who govern you!

Self-denominated representatives, as ridiculous as savage, are every day shedding deluges of your blood. What is it to them? Have they not in their power generals who serve for an excuse? And are not the heads of those unfortunate men responsible for their follies?

Now

Now they inform you of the victories of armies far distant from you: but you know the nature of those victories; the forcing of a post, the capture of a piece of artillery cost thousands of Frenchmen; your lives are to them an object of arithmetical calculation; and these base tyrants are shouting songs of exultation, whilst your families are in tears, whilst France is clad in universal mourning.

Now they endeavour to dazzle you with specious promises which are never realized. Behold, how, placed by themselves between the treasures their rapacity has wrested from the toils of your relations, and the wants for which these last thought they had made so many great sacrifices, these villains wallow in the most barbarous luxury, and glut themselves with riches, whilst you are in want of even the necessaries of life!

On our side, religion, honour, respect for the property and liberty of individuals, peace, public tranquillity; the return of those happy days when the French soldier was the object of the admiration of other nations, the safeguard of the citizens, and the defender of the laws—Such is the object of our wishes, of our efforts, of our contests!

Call to your minds the time when, marching under the standards of glory, your arrival in our cities was a festival for the citizens; how eager the peaceable inhabitant was to welcome you; with what cordiality he shared with you the repast of his family, and the fruits of his toil; you were then his defenders and friends. The coldness with which he now
receives

receives you, the dispersion of his children at your approach, the sullen silence he observes towards you, the dread depicted on his uneasy and affrighted figure, doubtless must evince to you, that he no longer beholds in you but the blind and destructive instruments of the injustice and ferocity of his oppressors.

French soldiers, where are they who wish to make robbers, jailors and executioners of us? What do they desire who despise your lives, and barbarously butcher the prisoners they take from us, in order to provoke us to the same cruelties against you? From whom do they derive that power, by virtue of which they command you, and even presume to punish you for those sentiments of honour which sometimes occasion your complaints? From you, from none but you. Ah! forbear, forbear then to be accessory to the execution of their sanguinary commands.

Punish them yourselves for so many crimes which fall on you. Join with us in replacing our august and lawful sovereign on the throne. Array yourselves with all the glory which beamed on the armies of Henry IV. when a guilty faction strove to overturn the throne of his fathers. How interesting to behold a young prince surrounded by those brave warriors who have replaced on his brow the badge of majesty, which impious hands had snatched away! Separate your cause from that of the monsters who are misleading you. Let the world behold this sight, and let France see in you her deliverers, after five years of convulsion and guilt.

The

The Generals and Chiefs of the Catholic and royal army of Brittany declare,

ARTICLE I. That the resolutions, set forth in the proclamation of the 26th of July, shall be strictly adhered to.

ART. II. The murders committed on the king's faithful subjects, requiring sad, but just reprisals, as the only method of stopping the course of this unheard of barbarity, hereafter no prisoners will be taken.

ART. III. All generals, officers, soldiers of regular troops, or national guards; all civil or military commissioners, all physicians, surgeons, and others whatever, employed in the service of armies and places, who wish to partake of the honour of re-establishing their rightful sovereign on the throne, and in extirpating the usurpers of it, will be maintained in the ranks, dignities, commands, employments, functions, salaries and pay which they may have previously enjoyed in the republican troops; they will moreover receive by way of gratuity, three months of the said pay and salary without any deduction.

ART. IV. Every village, borough, city, fortress, or sea-port town, which before the approach of the army shall hoist the royal standard, and take the resolution of defending it, will, on that account, be entitled to a general amnesty in favour of all its inhabitants; the commandants, staff-officers, and all civil and military officers whatever, will be maintained in their posts in the king's name. The garrison shall
 • receive

receive a bounty, viz. privates and non-commissioned, a year's pay, and the officers of every rank, six months salary; the same will be observed with respect to ships of the line, frigates and vessels of every denomination which may make the same election.

ART. V. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer who shall join the army, with half or more of the men under his command, shall receive a gratuity equivalent to one year's pay; he and his party will also receive the value of the horses, equipage, arms, carriages and utensils they shall bring. This article has reference likewise to every individual who may join with arms and baggage.

ART. VI. All generals, officers, soldiers, &c. who, not having previously had a favourable opportunity of withdrawing themselves from tyranny, and who, obliged by circumstances to march against the army, shall have the courage before or during the action to turn their arms against the enemies of religion and the king, thereby anticipate the deserved punishment of some villains, and prevent the effusion of French blood, shall receive an equal bounty, viz. all privates and non-commissioned, two years pay, and the officers of every description, a year's salary; and after the peace, shall enjoy the whole of the said pay and salary, by way of pensions.

ART. VII. The first campaign which shall be made with the Catholic and royal army, by the above described persons, shall be equivalent to each of them to six years service, in the attainment of military rewards and badges. There will four years be allowed to them, from

from the day on which they may rejoin the army, or comply with the propositions of the present proclamation, which shall concern them, according to their respective ranks and employments.

Done in Council, the 20th August, 1794, in the second year of the reign of Louis XVII.

(SIGNED) Le Comte J. de Puisaye, Mar. de camp; le Marquis de la Bourdonnaye; le Cev, de Chanterau, chef. de division, Offi. de la Vendée; Boulainvilliers, Chev. de St. Louis, Offi. du Morbihan; le Chev. de Sitz. *id.* Bellevue, Offi. de la Vendée; Jarry, *id.* Casquerai, page du Roi, *id.* Forestier, *id.* Duperrat, *id.* Delahaye, Offi. des Côtes du Nord; Leroi, lieut. col. Berthlot, Offi. de la V. Trommelin, Offi. d'Isle & Vilaine; Bedée du Moulin Tiffon, *id.* le Chev. du Busnel, *id.* Pinseau, Goupil, & Boitton, *id.* le Chev. du Trourou, Chev. de St. Louis; le Chev. de Rahier, Offi. de l'Isle & Vilaine; le Chev. de Bedée, *id.* le Chev. de Boisgny, *id.* Poncet, Offi. de la V. Fabre, *id.* Guinard, *id.* Mercier, *id.* de Blondel, *id.* Guillemot, Offi. du M. le Chev. des Bois Hardy, Offi. des Côtes du Nord; Flauft, *id.* Maudet, *id.* de la Forêt, Offi. d'Isle, & V. Perschais, *id.* Oleron, *id.* Boisguy, *id.* D'Argentiere, *id.* Rossignol, *id.* de Thuolmois,

(88)

ollois, *id.* de Thiers, Offi. du M. Lefevre,
id. Duffy, Offi. de la Manche. Breonard,
commissaire civil de l'Armée de la Vendée.

F I N I S.

